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WORDS OF OUR HERO,

U. S. GRANT.

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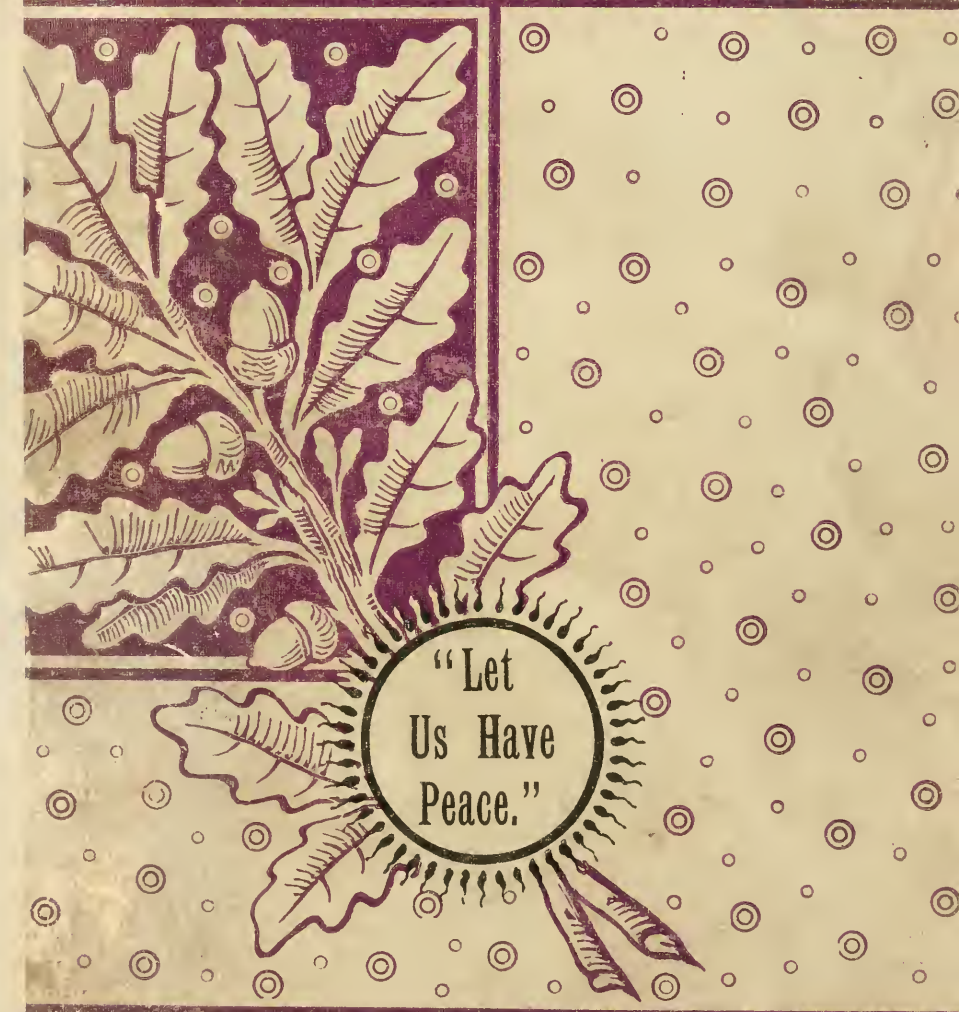
"Let
Us Have
Peace."

WORDS OF OUR HERO

ULYSSES S. GRANT

EDITED BY

JEREMIAH CHAPLIN

"What I am I owe to my country."

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ULYSSES S. GRANT

Born, April 27, 1822

Died, July 23, 1885

WORDS OF OUR HERO

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

BORN, 1822. — ENTERED WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY, 1839. — LIEUTENANT IN THE ARMY, 1845. — IN THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1847. — CAPTAIN, 1847. — ENGAGED IN BUSINESS, 1854. — CAPTAIN OF VOLUNTEERS, 1861. — COLONEL, JUNE 17, 1861. — BRIGADIER-GENERAL, AUGUST 23, 1861. — COMMANDER OF THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF CAIRO, DECEMBER, 1861. — TOOK FORT DONELSON, FEBRUARY 15, 1862. — COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN TENNESSEE, JULY, 1862. — TOOK VICKSBURG, JULY 4, 1863. — MAJOR-GENERAL, 1863. — COMMANDER OF THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF THE MISSISSIPPI, OCTOBER, 1863. — LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, MARCH 1, 1864. — ASSUMED COMMAND OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 17, 1864. — CAPTAIN-GENERAL, APRIL, 1865. — SECRETARY OF WAR "AD INTERIM," AUGUST 12, 1867. — PRESIDENT, 1869-1877.

[At the outbreak of the rebellion, 1861, he said to a friend]:

THE government has educated me for the army. What I am, I owe to my country. I have served her through one war, and, live or die, will serve her through this. — *Phelps.*

[To the citizens of Paducah, Kentucky, September 6, 1861.]

I have come among you not as an enemy, but as your fellow-citizen; not to maltreat or annoy you, but to respect and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy in rebellion against our

constitutional government has taken possession of, and planted its guns on the soil of Kentucky, and fired upon you. Columbus and Hickman are in his hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy, to assert the authority and sovereignty of your government. I have nothing to do with opinions. I shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors. You can pursue your usual avocations without fear. The strong arm of the government is here to protect its friends, and punish its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves, and to maintain the authority of the government, and protect the rights of loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command.

[General Buckner, of the Confederate army at Fort Donelson, having sent a letter to General Grant, February 16, 1862, proposing "the appointment of Commissioners, to agree upon terms of capitulation," General Grant replied the same day.]

Yours of this date proposing an armistice and the appointment of commissioners to settle on the terms of capitulation, is just received.

No terms, except unconditional and immediate surrender, can be accepted.

I propose to move immediately on your works.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant.

[After Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, General Grant issued the following order]:

MILLIKEN'S BEND, LOUISIANA.

. . . . . Corps, division, and post commanders will afford all facilities for the completion of the negro regiments now organizing in this department. Commissioners will issue supplies, and quarter-masters will furnish stores, on the same requisitions and returns as are required for other troops. It is expected that all commanders will especially exert themselves in carrying out the policy of the Administration, not only in organizing colored regiments and rendering them efficient, but also in removing prejudices against them.

[From a letter to General Banks, with reference to Vicksburg, May 25, 1863.]

. . . . . I feel that my force is abundantly strong to hold the enemy where he is, or to whip him should he come out. The place is so strongly fortified, however, that it cannot be taken without either a great sacrifice of life or by a regular siege. I have determined to adopt the latter course, and save my men.

[To a proposition of General Pemberton, July 3, 1863, for "an armistice for — hours, with a view to arranging terms for the capitulation of Vicksburg, . . . to save the further effusion of blood," General Grant replied the same day]:

GENERAL: Your note of this date [July 3] just received proposes an armistice of several hours for the purpose of arranging terms of capitulation through commissioners to be appointed, etc. The effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose, by an unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will also challenge the respect of an adversary, and, I can assure you, will be treated with all the respect due to them as prisoners of war. I do not favor the proposition of appointing commissioners to arrange terms of capitulation, because I have no other terms than those indicated above.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

On the afternoon of the same day (July 3) Gen. Pemberton sought an interview with Gen. Grant, and said: "General Grant, I meet you in order to arrange terms for the capitulation. What terms do you demand?"

"Unconditional surrender," was General Grant's reply.

Pemberton rejoined: "Unconditional surrender! Never, so long as I have a man left me. I will fight rather."

General Grant replied, "Very well."

On July 4, came the following from Pemberton: "General, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, and, in reply, to say that the terms proposed by you are accepted."

[When recommending (1863) Sherman and McPherson for promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General in the regular army, General Grant wrote]:

"The first reason for this is their great fitness for any command that it may ever become necessary to intrust to them. Second, their great purity of character and disinterestedness in anything except the faithful performance of their duty and the success of every one engaged in the great battle for the preservation of the Union. Third, they have honorably won this distinction upon many well-fought battle-fields. The promotion of such men as Sherman and McPherson always adds strength to our army."

[To a letter from Secretary Chase (July 4, 1863), in which he says: "I find that a rigorous line within districts occupied by our military forces, from beyond which no cotton or other produce can be brought, and within which no trade can be

carried on, gives rise to serious and to some apparently well-founded complaints." Gen. Grant replied] :

. . . . . My experience in West Tennessee has convinced me that any trade whatever with the rebel states is weakening to us of at least thirty-three per cent. of our force. No matter what the restrictions thrown around trade, if any whatever is allowed, it will be made the means of supplying the enemy with what they want. Restrictions, if lived up to, make trade unprofitable, and hence none but dishonorable men go into it. I will venture to say that no honorable man has made money in Western Tennessee in the last year, while many fortunes have been made there during that time.

The people in the Mississippi valley are now nearly subjugated. Keep trade out for a few months, and I doubt not that the work of subjugation will be so complete, that trade can be opened freely with the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi; that the people of these States will be more anxious for the enforcement and protection of our laws than the people of the loyal States. They have experienced the misfortune of being without them, and are now in a most happy condition to appreciate their blessings.

No theory of my own will ever stand in the way of my executing, in good faith, any order I may receive from those in authority over me; but my

position has given me an opportunity of seeing what would not be known by persons away from the scene of war; and, I venture, therefore, to suggest great caution in opening trade with rebels.

VICKSBURG, July 11, 1863.

"I am anxious to get as many of these negro regiments as possible, and to have them full, and completely equipped. . . . I am particularly desirous of organizing a regiment of heavy artillery from the negroes, to garrison this place, and shall do so as soon as possible."

VICKSBURG, July 24.

The negro troops are easier to preserve discipline among than our white troops, and I doubt not will prove equally good for garrison duty. All that have been tried have fought bravely.

[In 1863, hearing that some negro troops in the service of the United States had been hung at Milliken's Bend, General Grant wrote to General Richard Taylor]:

I feel no inclination to retaliate for the offences of irresponsible persons; but if it is the policy of any General intrusted with the command of troops to show no quarter, or to punish with death prisoners taken in battle, I will accept the issue. It may be you propose a different line of policy towards black troops, and officers commanding them, to that practiced towards white troops. If

so, I can assure you that these colored troops are regularly mustered into the service of the United States. The Government, and all officers under the Government, are bound to give the same protection to these troops that they do to any other troops.

General Orders, No. 50, Vicksburg, August 1, 1863.

. . . . . 2. The citizens of Mississippi within the limits above described, are called upon to pursue their peaceful avocations, in obedience to the laws of the United States. Whilst doing so in good faith, all the United States forces are prohibited from molesting them in any way. It is earnestly recommended that the freedom of negroes be acknowledged, and that, instead of compulsory labor, contracts on fair terms be entered into between the former masters and servants, or between the latter and other persons who may be willing to give them employment. Such a system as this, honestly followed, will result in substantial advantages to all parties.

All private property will be respected, except when the use of it is necessary for the government, in which case it must be taken under the direction of a commissioned officer, with specific instructions to seize certain property, and no other. A staff officer of the Quartermaster of Subsistence Department will, in each instance, be designated to receipt

for such property as may be seized, the property to be paid for at the end of the war on proof of loyalty, or on proper adjustment of the claim, under such regulations and laws as may hereafter be established.

. . . . . 4. Within the county of Warren, laid waste by the long presence of contending armies, the following rules, to prevent suffering, will be observed: Major-General Sherman and Major-General McPherson will each nominate a Commissary of Subsistence who will issue articles of prime necessity to all destitute families calling for them, under such restrictions for the protection of the government as they may deem necessary. Families who are able to pay for the provisions drawn, will in all cases be required to do so.

[On August 25, 1863, General Grant visited Memphis, Tennessee. A committee of loyal citizens having tendered him the hospitality of the city, he sent a letter of acceptance, in which he said]:

In accepting this testimonial, which I do at a great sacrifice of my personal feelings, I simply desire to pay a tribute to the first public exhibition in Memphis of loyalty to the government which I represent in the Department of the Tennessee. I should dislike to refuse, for considerations of personal convenience, to acknowledge anywhere, or in any form, the existence of sentiments I have so long and so ardently desired to see manifested in

this department. The stability of this government and the unity of this nation depend solely on the cordial support and the earnest loyalty of the people. While, therefore, I thank you sincerely for the kind expressions you have used toward myself, I am profoundly gratified at this public recognition, in the city of Memphis, of the power and authority of the government of the United States.

[In the Field, Chattanooga, Tenn., December 10, 1863.—Congratulatory Order.]

The General commanding takes this opportunity of returning his sincere thanks and congratulations to the brave armies of the Cumberland, the Ohio, and the Tennessee, and their comrades from the Potomac, for their recent splendid and decisive successes achieved over the enemy. In a short time you have recovered from him the control of the Tennessee River, from Bridgeport to Knoxville. You dislodged him from his great stronghold upon Lookout Mountain, drove him from Chattanooga Valley, wrested from his determined grasp the possession of Missionary Ridge, repelled, with heavy loss to him, his repeated assaults upon Knoxville, forcing him to raise the siege there; driving him at all points, utterly routed and discomfited, beyond the limits of the State. By your noble heroism and determined courage you have most effectually defeated the plans of

the enemy for regaining possession of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. You have secured positions from which no rebellious power can drive or dislodge you. For all this, the General commanding thanks you, collectively and individually. The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you. Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy rebellion are with you daily. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered. You will yet go to other fields of strife, and with the invincible bravery and unflinching loyalty to justice and right which have characterized you in the past, you will prove that no enemy can withstand you, and that no defence, however formidable, can check your onward march.

IN THE WILDERNESS, HEAD-QUARTERS IN THE FIELD,
May 11, 1864, 8 A. M.

We have now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is very much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as have been those of the enemy. I think the losses of the enemy must be greater.

We have taken over five thousand prisoners by battle, while he has taken from us but few, except stragglers.

I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.

City Point, Virginia, August 16, 1864.

To Hon. E. B. Washburne.

Dear Sir: I state to all citizens who visit me, that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, grading railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertion and other causes at least one regiment per day.

With this drain upon them the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them re-enforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quickly enforced the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects.

They hope a counter revolution; they hope the election of the Peace candidate. In fact, like

"Micawber," they hope for something to "turn up." Our Peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have "peace on any terms," the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed; they would demand indemnity for losses sustained; and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay for the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

[Address to all the armies.]

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1865.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES: By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery, and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the law, and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery, — the cause and precept of the rebellion, — and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolu-

tion, and brilliancy of results, dim the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defence of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call you left your homes and families, and volunteered in its defence. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen, and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen and sealed the priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families.

[From the Report of the Operations of the Armies of the United States, 1864–'65.]

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1865.

. . . . . From an early period of the rebellion I had been impressed with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of season and

weather, were necessary to a speedy termination of the war. The resources of the enemy and his numerical strength were far inferior to ours; but, as an offset to this, we had a vast territory with a population hostile to the government to garrison, and long lines of river and railroad communications to protect, to enable us to supply the operating armies.

The armies in the East and West acted independently and without concert, like a balky team, no two ever pulling together, enabling the enemy to use to great advantage his interior lines of communication for transporting troops from East to West, re-enforcing the army most vigorously pressed, and to furlough large numbers, during seasons of inactivity on our part, to go to their homes and do the work of producing for the support of their armies. It was a question whether our numerical strength and resources were not more than balanced by these disadvantages and the enemy's superior position.

From the first I was firm in the conviction that no peace could be had that would be stable and conducive to the happiness of the people, both North and South, until the military power of the rebellion was entirely broken.

I therefore determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy; preventing him from using

the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance. Second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our common country to the Constitution and laws of the land.

. . . . . .

It has been my fortune to see the armies of both the West and East fight battles, and from what I have seen I know there is no difference in their fighting qualities. All that it was possible for men to do in battle they have done. The Western armies commenced their battles in the Mississippi Valley, and received the final surrender of the remnant of the principal army opposed to them in North Carolina. The armies of the East commenced their battles on the river from which the Army of the Potomac derived its name, and received the final surrender of their old antagonist at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. The splendid achievements of each have nationalized our victories, removed all sectional jealousies, (of which we have unfortunately experienced too much,) and the cause of crimination and recrimination that might have followed had either section

failed in its duty. All have a proud record, and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy, whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor.

[When, August 17, 1867, President Johnson ordered General Grant to remove from command at New Orleans General Sheridan, and at the same time asked him to make suggestions in regard to the order, General Grant replied]:

I am pleased to avail myself of this invitation to urge, earnestly urge, in the name of a patriotic people who have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of loyal lives, and thousands of millions of treasure, to preserve the integrity and union of this country, that this order be not insisted on. It is unmistakably the expressed wish of the country that General Sheridan should not be removed from his present command.

This is a republic where the will of the people is the law of the land. I beg that their voice may be heard.

General Sheridan has performed his civil duties faithfully and intelligently. His removal will only be regarded as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress.

[During the suspension, for political reasons, of Mr. Stanton as Secretary of War, by President Johnson, General Grant was appointed Secretary of War, *ad interim*. When the Senate, January 13, 1868, passed a resolution of non-concurrence with the suspension, General Grant immediately surrendered the keys of the office, which offended Mr. Johnson. A correspondence between them ensued. General Grant's closing letter is as follows]:

The course you understood I agreed to pursue was in violation of law, and that without orders from you; while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in accordance with law, and not in disobedience of any orders of my superior.

And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier, and integrity as a man, have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility, in order thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War, my superior, and your subordinate, without having countermanded his authority. I conclude with the assurance, Mr. President, that nothing less than a vindication of my personal honor and character could have induced this correspondence on my part.

[From his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1869.]

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES: Your suffrages having elected me to the office of President of the United States, I have, in conformity with the Constitution of our country, taken the oath of office prescribed therein. I have taken this oath without mental reservation, and with a determination to do, to the best of my ability, all that it requires of me.

The responsibilities of the position I feel, but accept them without fear. The office has come to me unsought; I commence its duties untrammelled. I bring to it a conscious desire and determination to fill it, to the best of my ability, to the satisfaction of the people. On all leading questions agitating the public mind I will always express my views to Congress, and urge them according to my judgment, and when I think it advisable, will exercise the constitutional privilege of interposing a veto to defeat measures which I oppose. But all laws will be faithfully executed, whether they meet my approval or not.

I shall on all subjects have a policy to recommend, none to enforce against the will of the people. Laws are to govern all alike—those opposed to as well as those in favor of them. I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effectual as their strict execution. . . . . .

A great debt has been contracted in securing to us and our posterity the Union. The payment of this, principal and interest, as well as the return to a specie basis as soon as it can be accomplished without material detriment to the debtor class or to the country at large, must be provided for. To protect the national honor, every dollar of the government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise especially stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiation of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public places, and it will go far towards strengthening a credit which ought to be the best in the world, and will ultimately enable us to replace the debt with bonds bearing less interest than we now pay.

[From a Message, December, 1870.]

. . . . . As soon as I learned that a Republic had been proclaimed at Paris, and the people of France had acquiesced in the change, the minister of the United States was directed by telegraph to recognize it, and to tender my congratulations and those of the people of the United States. The re-establishment in France of a system of government disconnected with the dynastic traditions of Europe appeared to be a proper subject for the felicitations of Americans. Should the present struggle result in attaching the hearts of the French to our simpler

form of representative government, it will be a subject of still further satisfaction to our people. While we make no effort to impose our institutions upon the inhabitants of other countries, and while we adhere to our traditional neutrality in civil contests elsewhere, we cannot be indifferent to the spread of American political ideas in a great and highly civilized country like France.

[From a Message, December, 1871.]

. . . . . In Utah there still remains a remnant of barbarism repugnant to civilization, to decency, and to the laws of the United States. . . . Neither polygamy nor any other violation of existing statutes will be permitted within the territory of the United States. It is not with the religion of the self-styled Saints that we are now dealing, but with their practices. They will be protected in the worship of God according to the dictates of their own consciences, but they will not be permitted to violate the laws under the cloak of religion.

[From a Message, December 7, 1875.]

. . . . . As we are now about to enter upon our second centennial — commencing our manhood as a nation — it is well to look back upon the past, and study what will be best to preserve and advance our future greatness. . . . . .

We should look to the dangers threatening us,

and remove them as far as lies in our power. We are a republic whereof one man is as good as another before the law. Under such a form of government, it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning. A large association of ignorant men cannot, for any considerable period, oppose a successful resistance to tyranny and oppression from the educated few, but will inevitably sink into acquiescence to the will of intelligence, whether directed by the demagogue or by priestcraft. Hence the education of the masses becomes of the first necessity for the preservation of our institutions. They are worth preserving, because they have secured the greatest good to the greatest proportion of the population of any form of government yet devised. All other forms of government approach it in proportion to the general diffusion of education and independence of thought and action. As the principal step, therefore, to our advancement in all that has marked our progress in the past century, I suggest for your earnest consideration, and most earnestly recommend it, that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the chil-

dren in the rudimentary branches within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace or religions; forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets; and prohibiting the granting of any school funds or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid or for the benefit of any other object of any nature or kind whatever.

. . . . . .

[From a Speech at the Annual Reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, at Des Moines, Iowa, September 29, 1875.]

Comrades: It always affords me much gratification to meet my old comrades in arms of ten or fourteen years ago, and to live over again in memory the trials and hardships of those days — hardships imposed for the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions. We believed then, and believe now, that we had a good government, worth fighting for, and, if need be, dying for. How many of our comrades of those days paid the latter price for our preserved Union! Let their heroism and sacrifices be ever green and in our memory. Let not the results of their sacrifices be destroyed. The Union and the free institutions for which they fell, should be held more dear for their sacrifices. We will not deny to any of those who

fought against us any privileges under the government which we claim for ourselves; on the contrary, we honor all such who come forward in good faith to help build up the waste places, and to perpetuate our institutions against all enemies, as brothers in full interest with us in a common heritage; but we are not prepared to apologize for the part we took in the war. It is to be hoped that like trials will never again befall our country. In this sentiment no class of people can more heartily join than the soldier, who submitted to the dangers, trials, and hardships of the camp and the battle-field. On whichever side they may have fought, no class of people are more interested in guarding against a recurrence of those days.

Let us then begin by guarding against every enemy threatening the perpetuity of free republican institutions. I do not bring into this assemblage politics, certainly not partisan politics; but it is a fair subject for soldiers in their deliberations to consider what may be necessary to secure the prize for which they battled in a republic like ours. Where the citizen is sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign — the people — should possess intelligence.

The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation. If we are to have another contest in the near future

of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now in this centennial year of our national existence, I believe it a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundation of the house commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago, at Concord and Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the more perfect security of free thought, free speech, and free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar of money appropriated to their support, no matter how raised, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school. Resolve that the State or Nation, or both combined, shall furnish to every child growing up in the land, the means of acquiring a good common-school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistic tenets. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the church and state forever separate. With these safeguards, I believe the battles which created the Army of the Tennessee will not have been fought in vain.

[From a Letter explanatory of a passage in the above Speech.]

I feel no hostility to free education going as high as the state or national government feels able to provide, protecting, however, every child in the privilege of a common-school education before public means are applied to a higher education for the few.

[From a Message.]

In a former Message to Congress I had occasion to consider this question, [the recognition of belligerent rights,] and reached the conclusion that the conflict in Cuba, dreadful and devastating as were its incidents, did not rise to the fearful dignity of war.

[From a Message, December, 1876.]

. . . . . The compulsory support of the free schools, and the disfranchisement of all who cannot read and write the English language, after a fixed probation, would meet my hearty approval.*

[Veto Message of the Senate Currency Bill.]

I am not a believer in any artificial method of making paper money equal to coin when the coin

* He would not have this action retrospective. It should apply only to future voters.

is not owned or held ready to redeem the promise to pay, for paper money is nothing more than promises to pay.

[From a Speech at a banquet in the Town-hall, Birmingham, October 17.]

. . . . . He [Mr. Chamberlain, M. P.] alluded to the great merit of retiring a large army at the close of a great war. If he had ever been in my position for four years, and undergone all the anxiety and care that I had in the management of those large armies, he would appreciate how happy I was to be able to say that they could be dispensed with. I disclaim all credit and praise for doing that one thing. . . . Further, we Americans claim to be so much of Englishmen, and to have so much general intelligence, and so much personal independence and individuality, that we do not quite believe that it is possible for any one man there to assume any more right and authority than the constitution of the land gave to him. Among the English-speaking people we do not think these things possible. We can fight among ourselves, and dispute and abuse each other, but we will not allow ourselves to be abused outside; nor will those who look on at our little personal quarrels in our own midst permit us to interfere with their own rights. —*Around the World with General Grant*, by John Russell Young.

[From a Speech, in reply to an Address on behalf of the International Arbitration Union, Birmingham.]

. . . . . I am conscientiously, and have been from the beginning, an advocate of what the society represented by you is seeking to carry out; and nothing would afford me greater happiness than to know, as I believe will be the case, that, at some future day, the nations of the earth will agree upon some sort of Congress, which shall take cognizance of international questions of difficulty, and whose decisions will be as binding as the decision of our Supreme Court is binding on us. It is a dream of mine that some such solution may be found for all questions of great difficulty that may arise between different nations. In one of the addresses reference was made to the dismissal of the army to the pursuit of peaceful industry. I would gladly see the millions of men who are now supported by the industry of the nations return to industrial pursuits, and thus become self-sustaining, and take off the tax upon labor which is now levied for their support. — *Around the World.*

[In reply to an Address of the Iron-Founders' Society, July 3, 1877.]

. . . . . I recognize the fact that whatever there is of greatness in the United States, or indeed in any other country, is due to the labor performed.

The laborer is the author of all greatness and wealth. Without labor there would be no government, or no leading class, or nothing to preserve. With us labor is regarded as highly respectable. — *Around the World.*

[At a lunch in the Guild hall, London, June 16, 1877. After having spoken once before, he said]:

Habits formed in early life and early education press upon us as we grow older. I am not aware that I ever fought two battles on the same day in the same place, and that I should be called upon to make two speeches on the same day under the same roof is beyond my understanding. What I do understand is, that I am much indebted to all of you for the compliments you have paid me. All I can do is to thank the Lord Mayor for his kind words, and to thank the citizens of Great Britain here present in the name of my country and for myself.

[Later in the day, at a dinner in the Crystal Palace, Mr. Thomas Hughes proposed the health of General Grant, adding that he did not impose the burden of a reply. General Grant, however, said]:

Mr. Hughes, I must none the less tell you what gratification it gives me to hear my health proposed in such hearty words by Tom Brown, of Rugby. — *Around the World.*

[A Speech at a dinner-party at Hamburg, of American ladies and gentlemen, July 4, 1878.]

Mr. Consul and Friends: I am much obliged to you for the kind manner in which you drink my health. I share with you in all the pleasure and gratitude which Americans so far from home should feel on this anniversary. But I must dissent from one remark of our consul, to the effect that I saved the country during the recent war. If our country could be saved or ruined by the efforts of any one man we should not have a country, and we should not be now celebrating our Fourth of July. There are many men who would have done far better than I did under the circumstances in which I found myself during the war. If I had never held command; if I had fallen; if all our generals had fallen, there were ten thousand behind us who would have done our work just as well, who would have followed the contest to the end, and never surrendered the Union. Therefore it is a mistake, and a reflection upon the people, to attribute to me, or to any number of men who held high command, the salvation of the Union. We did our work as well as we could, and so did hundreds of thousands of others. We deserve no credit for it, for we should have been unworthy of our country and of the American name, if we had not made every sacrifice to save the Union. What saved

the Union was the coming forward of the young men of the nation. They came from their homes and fields, as they did in the time of the Revolution, giving everything to the country. To their devotion we owe the salvation of the Union. The humblest soldier who carried a musket is entitled to as much credit for the results of the war as those who were in command. So long as our young men are animated by this spirit there will be no fear for the Union. — *Around the World.*

With a people as honest and proud as the Americans, and with so much common-sense, it is always a mistake to do a thing not entirely right for the sake of expediency. — *Around the World.*

When I was in the army I had a physique that could stand anything. Whether I slept on the ground or in a tent, whether I slept one hour or ten in the twenty-four, whether I had one meal or three, or none, made no difference. I could lie down and sleep in the rain without caring. But I was many years younger, and I could not hope to do that now. — *Around the World.*

The only eyes a general can trust are his own. — *Around the World.*

I never saw the President [Lincoln] until he gave me my commission as Lieutenant-general.

Afterwards I saw him often, either in Washington or at head-quarters. Lincoln, I may almost say, spent the last days of his life with me. I often recall those days. He came down to City Point in the last month of the war, and was with me all the time. He lived on a dispatch-boat in the river, but was always around head-quarters. He was a fine horseman, and rode my horse Cincinnati. He visited the different camps, and I did all I could to interest him. He was very anxious about the war closing; was afraid we could not stand a new campaign, and wanted to be around when the crash came.

I have no doubt that Lincoln will be the conspicuous figure of the war; one of the great figures of history. He was a great man, a very great man. The more I saw of him, the more this impressed me. He was incontestably the greatest man I ever knew. What marked him especially was his sincerity, his kindness, his clear insight into affairs. Under all this he had a firm will, and a clear policy. People used to say that Seward swayed him, or Chase, or Stanton. This was a mistake. He might appear to go Seward's way one day, and Stanton's another, but all the time he was going his own course, and they with him. It was that gentle firmness in carrying out his own will, without apparent force or friction, that formed the basis of his character. He was a

wonderful talker and teller of stories. It is said his stories were improper. I have heard of them, but I never heard Lincoln use an improper word or phrase. I have sometimes, when I hear his memory called in question, tried to recall such a thing, but I cannot. I always found him pre-eminently, a clean-minded man. I regard these stories as exaggerations. Lincoln's power of illustration, his humor, was inexhaustible. He had a story or an illustration for everything.—*Around the World.*

I would deal with nations as equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other.

I knew Stonewall Jackson at West Point and in Mexico. At West Point he came into the school at an older age than the average, and began with a low grade. But he had so much courage and energy, worked so hard, and governed his life by a discipline so stern, that he steadily worked his way along and rose far above others who had more advantages. Stonewall Jackson at West Point was in a state of constant improvement. He was a religious man then, and some of us regarded him as a fanatic. Sometimes his religion took strange forms—hypochondria—fancies that an Evil Spirit had taken possession of him. But he never relaxed in his studies or his Christian duties. I knew him in Mexico. He was always a brave and

trustworthy officer,—none more so in the army. I never knew him or encountered him in the rebellion. I question whether his campaigns in Virginia justify his reputation as a great commander. He was killed too soon, and before his rank allowed him a great command. It would have been a test of generalship if Jackson had met Sheridan in the Valley, instead of some of the men he did meet. From all I know of Jackson, and all I see of his campaigns, I have little doubt of the result. If Jackson had attempted on Sheridan the tactics he attempted so successfully upon others he would not only have been beaten but destroyed. Sudden daring raids, under a fine general like Jackson, might do against raw troops and inexperienced commanders, such as we had in the beginning of the war, but not against drilled troops and a commander like Sheridan. The tactics for which Jackson is famous, and which achieved such remarkable results, belonged entirely to the beginning of the war and to the peculiar conditions under which the earlier battles were fought. They would have ensured destruction to any commander who tried them upon Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, Meade, or, in fact, any of our great generals. Consequently Jackson's fame as a general depends upon achievements gained before his generalship was tested, before he had a chance of matching himself with a really great commander. No doubt

so able and patient a man as Jackson, who worked so hard at anything he attempted, would have adapted himself to new conditions and risen with them. He died before his opportunity. I always respected Jackson personally, and esteemed his sincere and manly character. He impressed me always as a man of the Cromwell stamp, a Puritan—much more of the New Englander than the Virginian. If any man believed in the rebellion, he did. And his nature was such that whatever he believed in became a deep religious duty, a duty he would discharge at any cost. It is a mistake to suppose that I ever had any feeling for Stonewall Jackson but respect. Personally we were always good friends; his character had rare points of merit, and although he made the mistake of fighting against his country, if ever a man did so conscientiously, he was the man.—*Around the World.*

The war, when it broke out, found me relieved from the army, and engaged in my father's business in Galena, Illinois. A company of volunteers were formed under the first call of the President. I had no position in the company, but having had military experience I agreed to go with the company to Springfield, the capital of the State, and assist in drill. When I reached Springfield I was assigned to duty in the Adjutant's Department, and

did a good share of the detail work. I had had experience in Mexico. As soon as the work of mustering-in was over, I asked Gov. Gates for a week's leave of absence to visit my parents in Covington. The Governor gave me the leave. While I wanted to pay a visit home, I was also anxious to see McClellan. McClellan was then in Cincinnati in command. He had been appointed Major-General in the regular army. I was delighted with the appointment. I knew McClellan and had great confidence in him. I have, for that matter, never lost my respect for McClellan's character, nor my confidence in his loyalty and ability. I saw in him the man who was to pilot us through, and I wanted to be on his staff. I thought that if he would make me a major, or a lieutenant-colonel, I could be of use, and I wanted to be with him. So when I came to Cincinnati I went to the head-quarters. Several of the staff officers were friends I had known in the army. I asked one of them if the General was in. I was told he had just gone out, and was asked to take a seat. Everybody was so busy that they could not say a word. I waited a couple of hours. I never saw such a busy crowd—so many men at an army head-quarters with quills behind their ears. But I supposed it was all right, and was much encouraged by their industry. It was a great comfort to see the men so busy with

the quills. Finally, after a long wait, I told an officer that I would come in again next day, and requested him to tell McClellan that I had called. Next day I came in. The same story. The general had just gone out, might be in at any moment. Would I wait? I sat and waited for two hours, watching the officers with their quills, and left. . . . McClellan never acknowledged my call, and, of course, after he knew I had been at his head-quarters I was bound to await his acknowledgment. I was older, had ranked him in the army, and could not hang around his head-quarters watching the men with the quills behind their ears. I went over to make a visit to an old army friend, Reynolds, and while there learned that Governor Gates, of Illinois, had made me a colonel of volunteers. Still I should like to have joined McClellan.

This pomp and ceremony was common at the beginning of the war. McClellan had three times as many men with quills behind their ears as I had ever found necessary at the head-quarters of a much larger command. Fremont had as much state as a Sovereign, and was as difficult to approach. His headquarters alone required as much transportation as a division of troops. I was under his command a part of the time, and remember how imposing was his manner of doing business. He sat in a room in full uniform, with his maps before him.

When you went in, he would point out one line or another in a mysterious manner, never asking you to take a seat. You left without the least idea of what he meant or what he wanted you to do.

. . . . . McClellan is to me one of the mysteries of the war. As a young man he was always a mystery. He had the way of inspiring you with the idea of immense capacity, if he would only have a chance. Then he is a man of unusual accomplishments, a student and a well-read man. I have never studied his campaigns enough to make up my mind as to his military skill, but all my impressions are in his favor. I have entire confidence in McClellan's loyality and patriotism. But the test which was applied to him would be terrible to any man, being made a major-general at the beginning of the war. It has always seemed to me that the critics of McClellan do not consider this vast and cruel responsibility — the war a new thing to all of us, the army new, everything to do from the outset, with a restless people and Congress. McClellan was a young man when this devolved upon him, and if he did not succeed, it was because the conditions of success were so trying. If McClellan had gone into the war as did Sherman, Thomas, or Meade, had fought his way along and up, I have no reason to suppose he would not have now as high a distinction as any of us. McClellan's main blunder was in allowing himself political sympathies, and in permitting him-

self to become the critic of the President, and in time his rival. This is shown in his letter to Mr. Lincoln on his return to Harrison's Landing, when he sat down and wrote out a policy for the government. He was forced into this by his associations, and that led to his nomination for the presidency. I remember how disappointed I was about this letter, and also in his failure to destroy Lee at Antietam. His friends say that he failed because of the interference from Washington. I am afraid the interference from Washington was not from Mr. Lincoln so much as from the enemies of the administration, who believed they could carry their point through the army of the Potomac. My own experience with Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton, both in the western and eastern armies, was the reverse. I was never interfered with. I had the fullest support of the President and Secretary of War. No general could want better backing, for the President was a man of great wisdom and moderation, the Secretary a man of enormous character and will. Very often where Lincoln would want to say Yes, his Secretary would make him say No ; and more frequently when the Secretary was driving on in a violent course, the President would check him. United, Lincoln and Stanton made about as perfect a combination as I believe could, by any possibility, govern a great nation in time of war. — *Around the World.*

A general who will never take a chance in a battle will never fight one. — *Around the World.*

Sherman is not only a great soldier, but a great man. He is one of the very great men in our country's history. He is a many-sided man. He is an orator with few superiors. As a writer he is among the first. As a general I know of no man I would put above him. Above all, he has a fine character — so frank, so sincere, so outspoken, so genuine. There is not a false line in Sherman's character — nothing to regret. . . . . .

The march to the sea was proposed by me in a letter to Halleck before I left the Western army; my objective point was Mobile. It was not a sudden inspiration, but a logical move in the game. It was the next thing to be done. We had gone so far into the South that we had to go to the sea. We could not go anywhere else, for we were certainly not going back. The details of the march, the conduct, the whole glory belong to Sherman. I never thought much as to the origin of the idea. I presume it grew up in correspondence with Sherman; that it took shape as those things always do. Sherman is a man with so many resources and a mind so fertile, that once an idea takes root it grows rapidly. My objection to Sherman's plan at the time, and my objection now, was his leaving Hood's army in the rear. I always wanted the

march to the sea, but at the same time I wanted Hood. —*Around the World.*

[From his Speech in London, when presented with the freedom of the city, June 15, 1877.]

Although a soldier by education and profession, I have never felt any sort of fondness for war, and I have never advocated it except as a means of peace. —*Around the World.*

I was never more delighted at anything than the close of the war. I never liked service in the army—not as a young officer. I did not want to go to West Point. My appointment was an accident, and my father had to use his authority to make me go. If I could have escaped West Point without bringing myself into disgrace at home, I would have done so. I remember about the time I entered the Academy there were debates in Congress over a proposal to abolish West Point. I used to look over the papers and read the Congress reports with eagerness to see the progress the bill made, and hoping to hear that the school had been abolished, and that I could go home to my father without being in disgrace. I never went into a battle willingly or with enthusiasm. I was always glad when a battle was over. I never want to command another army. I take no interest in armies. When the Duke of Cambridge asked me to review his troops at Aldershot, I told his Royal

Highness that the one thing I never wanted to see again was a military parade. When I resigned from the army and went to a farm I was happy. When the rebellion came I returned to the service because it was a duty. I had no thought of rank; all I did was to try and make myself useful. My first commission as brigadier came on the unanimous indorsement of the delegation from Illinois. I do not think I knew any of the members but Washburne, and I did not know him very well. It was only after Donelson that I began to see how important was the work that Providence devolved upon me. . . . You see, Donelson was our first clear victory, and you will remember the enthusiasm that came with it. . . . When other commands came I always regretted them. When the bill creating the grade of Lieutenant-General was proposed, with my name as Lieutenant-General, I wrote Mr. Washburne opposing it. I did not want it. I found that the bill was right and I was wrong, when I came to command the Army of the Potomac — that a head was needed to the army. I did not want the Presidency, and have never quite forgiven myself for resigning the command of the army to accept it; but it could not be helped. I owed my honors and opportunities to the Republican party, and if my name could aid it I was bound to accept. The second nomination was almost due to me — if I may use the phrase — be-

cause of the bitterness of political personal opponents. My re-election was a great gratification, because it showed me how the country felt. — *Around the World.*

I always dreaded going to the Army of the Potomac. After the battle of Gettysburg I was told I could have the command, but I managed to keep out of it. I had seen so many generals fall, one after another, like bricks in a row, that I shrank from it. After the battle of Mission Ridge, and my appointment as Lieutenant-General, and I was allowed to choose my place, it could not be avoided. Then it seemed as if the time was ripe, and I had no hesitation. — *Around the World.*

The most troublesome men in public life, are those over-righteous people who see no motive in other people's actions but evil motives; who believe all public life is corrupt, and nothing is well done unless they do it themselves. They are narrow-headed men, their two eyes so close together that they can look out of the same gimlet-hole without winking. — *Around the World.*

Andrew Johnson, one of the ablest of the poor white class, tried to assert some independence; but as soon as the slaveholders put their thumb upon him, even in the Presidency, he became their slave. — *Around the World.*

I do not believe in luck in war any more than in luck in business. Luck is a small matter; may affect a battle or a movement, but not a campaign or a career.— *Around the World.*

Speaking of the notable men I have met in Europe, I regard Bismarck and Gambetta as the greatest. I saw a good deal of Bismark in Berlin, and later in Gastein, and had long talks with him. He impresses you as a great man.

Gambetta also impressed me greatly. I was not surprised, when I met him, to see the power he wielded over France. I should not be surprised at any prominence he might attain in the future. I was very much pleased with the Republican leaders in France. They seemed a superior body of men. My relations with them gave me great hopes for the future of the Republic. They were men apparently of sense, wisdom, and moderation. — *Around the World.*

I have always had an aversion to Napoleon and the whole family. When I was in Denmark the Prince Imperial was there, and some one thought it might be pleasant for me t meet him. I declined, saying I did not want to see him or any of his family. Of course the first emperor was a great genius, but one of the most selfish and cruel men in history. Outside of his military skill, I do

not see a redeeming trait in his character. He abused France for his own ends, and brought incredible disasters upon his country to gratify his selfish ambition. I do not think any genius can excuse a crime like that. The third Napoleon was worse than the first, the especial enemy of America and liberty. Think of the misery he brought upon France by a war, which, under the circumstances, no one but a madman would have declared. I never doubted how the war would end, and my sympathies at the outset were entirely with Germany. I had no ill-will to the French people, but to Napoleon. After Sedan, I thought Germany should have made peace with France; and I think that if peace had been made then, in a treaty which would have shown that the war was not against the French people, but against a tyrant and his dynasty, the condition of Europe would now be different. Germany, especially, would be in a better condition, without being compelled to arm every man, and drain the country every year of its young men to arm against France. . . . There exists, and has since the foundation of our government always existed, a traditional friendship between our people and the French. I had this feeling in common with my countrymen. But I felt at the same time that no people had so great an interest in the removal of Napoleonism from France as the French people. — *Around the World.*

[From a Speech at Elgin, Scotland.]

I am happy to say, that during the eight years of my Presidency it was a hope of mine, which I am glad to say was realized, that all differences between the two nations should be settled in a manner honorable to both. All the questions, I am glad to say, were so settled, and in my desire for that result, it was my aim to do what was right, irrespective of any other consideration whatever. During all the negotiations, I felt the importance of maintaining the friendly relations between the great English-speaking people of this country and the United States, which I believe to be essential to the maintenance of peace principles throughout the world, and I feel confident that the continuance of those relations will exercise a vast influence in promoting peace and civilization throughout the world. — *Around the World.*

[From a Speech at Newcastle.]

. . . . . The President [of the Chamber of Commerce] in his remarks has alluded to the personal friendship existing between the two nations. I will not say the two peoples, because we are one people; but we are two nations having a common destiny, and that destiny will be brilliant in proportion to the friendship and co-operation of the brethren on the two sides of the water. . . . These are two

nations which ought to be at peace with each other. We ought to strive to keep at peace with all the world besides, and by our example stop those wars which have devastated our own countries, and are now devastating some countries in Europe. — *Around the World.*

[From a Speech to the workingmen at Newcastle.]

I was always a man of peace, and I have always advocated peace, although educated a soldier. I never willingly, although I have gone through two wars, of my own accord advocated war. I advocated what I believed to be right, and I have fought for it to the best of my ability, in order that an honorable peace might be secured.—*Around the World.*

Now, there is one subject that has been alluded to here, that I do not know that I should speak upon at all, — I have heard it occasionally whispered since I have been in England, — and that is, the great advantages that would accrue to the United States if free trade should only be established. I have a sort of recollection, through reading, that England herself had a protective tariff until she had manufactories somewhat established. I think we are rapidly progressing in the way of establishing manufactories ourselves, and I believe we shall

become one of the greatest free-trade nations on the face of the earth; and when we both come to be free-traders, I think that probably the balance of the nations had better stand aside, and not contend with us at all in the markets of the world. — *Around the World.*

[From a Conversation with Bismarck.]

I regard Sheridan as not only one of the great soldiers of our war, but one of the great soldiers of the world, — as a man who is fit for the highest commands. No better general ever lived than Sheridan.

. . . . . .

The truth is, I am more of a farmer than a soldier. I take little or no interest in military affairs, and, although I entered the army thirty-five years ago, and have been in two wars, in Mexico as a young lieutenant, and later, I never went into the army without regret, and never retired without pleasure. — *Around the World.*

[The following conversation took place between General Grant and Bismarck.]

"You had to save the Union just as we had to save Germany."

"Not only save the Union, but destroy slavery."

"I suppose, however, the Union was the real sentiment, the dominant sentiment?"

"In the beginning, yes; but as soon as slavery fired upon the flag, it was felt, we all felt, even those who did not object to slaves, that slavery must be destroyed. We felt that it was a stain to the Union that men should be bought and sold like cattle."

"I suppose if you had had a large army at the beginning of the war it would have ended in a much shorter time?"

"We might have had no war at all; but we cannot tell. Our war had many strange features; there were many things which seemed odd enough at the time, but which now seem providential. If we had had a larger regular army, as it was then constituted, it might have gone with the South. In fact, the Southern feeling in the army among high officers was so strong that when the war broke out the army dissolved. We had no army. Then we had to organize one. A great commander like Sherman or Sheridan even then might have organized an army and put down the rebellion in six months or a year, or, at the farthest, two years. But that would have saved slavery, perhaps, and slavery meant the germs of new rebellion. There had to be an end of slavery. Then we were fighting an enemy with whom we could not make a peace. We had to destroy him. No convention, no treaty was possible, only destruction."

"It was a long war, and a great work well done, and I suppose it means a long peace."

"I believe so." — *Around the World.*

[From a letter to Governor Chamberlain, of South Carolina, July 26, 1876.]

Too long denial of guaranteed right is sure to lead to revolution, bloody revolution, where suffering must fall upon the innocent as well as the guilty.

[From a Speech at Galveston, Texas, March 25, 1880.]

. . . . . It was my fortune, more than a third of a century ago, to visit Texas as Second Lieutenant, and to have been one of those who went into the conflict which was to settle the boundary of Texas. I am glad to come back now on this occasion to behold the territory which is an empire in itself, and larger than some of the empires of Europe. I wish for the people of Texas, as I do for the people of the entire South, that they may go on developing their resources, and become great and powerful, and in their prosperity forget, as the worthy Mayor expressed it, that there is a boundary between the North and South. I am sure we will all be happier and much more prosperous when the day comes that there shall be no sectional feeling. Let any American, who can travel abroad, as I have done, and with the opportunity of witnessing what there is to be seen that I have had, and he will return to

America a better American and a better citizen than when he went away. He will return more in love with his own country. Far be it from me to find fault with any of the European Governments. I was well received at their hands on every side, by every nation in Europe, but with their dense population and their worn-out soil it takes a great deal of government to enable the people to get from the soil a bare subsistence. Here we have rich virgin soil, with room enough for all of us to expand and live, with the use of very little government. I do hope we long may be able to get along happily and contentedly without being too much governed."

[From a Speech at Warren, Ohio, September 28, 1880.]

In view of the known character and ability of the speaker who is to address you to-day, and his long public career and association with the leading statesmen of this country for the past twenty years, it would not be becoming in me to detain you with many remarks of my own. But it may be proper for me to account to you on the first occasion of my presiding at political meetings for the faith that is in me.

I am a Republican, as the two great political parties are now divided, because the Republican party is a National party, seeking the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens. There is not a precinct in this vast Nation where a Democrat

cannot cast his ballot and have it counted as cast. No matter what the prominence of the opposite party, he can proclaim his political opinions, even if he is only one among a thousand, without fear and without proscription on account of his opinions. There are fourteen States, and localities in some other States, where Republicans have not this privilege.

This is one reason why I am a Republican. But I am a Republican for many other reasons. The Republican party assures protection to life and property, the public credit and the payment of the debts of the Government, State, county, or municipality so far as it can control. The Democratic party does not promise this; if it does, it has broken its promises to the extent of hundreds of millions, as many Northern Democrats can testify to their sorrow. I am a Republican, as between the existing parties, because it fosters the production of the field and farm and of manufactories, and it encourages the general education of the poor as well as the rich. The Democratic party discourages all these when in absolute power. The Republican party is a party of progress and of liberality toward its opponents. It encourages the poor to strive to better their children, to enable them to compete successfully with their more fortunate associates, and, in fine, it secures an entire equality before the law of every citizen, no matter

what his race, nationality, or previous condition. It tolerates no privileged class. Every one has the opportunity to make himself all he is capable of.

Ladies and gentlemen, do you believe this can be truthfully said in the greater part of fourteen of the States of this Union to-day which the Democratic party controls absolutely? The Republican party is a party of principles, the same principles prevailing wherever it has a foothold. The Democratic party is united in but one thing, and that is in getting control of the Government in all its branches. It is for internal improvement at the expense of the Government in one section and against this in another. It favors repudiation of solemn obligations in one section, and honest payment of its debts in another, where public opinion will not tolerate any other view. It favors fiat money in one place and good money in another. Finally, it favors the pooling of all issues not favored by the Republicans, to the end that it may secure the one principle upon which the party is a most harmonious unit, namely, getting control of the Government in all its branches.

I have been in some part of every State lately in rebellion, within the last year. I was most hospitably received at every place where I stopped. My receptions were not by the Union class alone, but by all classes, without distinction. I had a free talk with many who were against me in the war,

and who have been against the Republican party ever since. They were in all instances reasonable men, judged by what they said. I believed then and believe now that they sincerely want a break-up in this "Solid South" political condition. They see that it is to their pecuniary interest as well as to their happiness that there should be harmony and confidence between all sections. They want to break away from the slavery which binds them to a party name. They want a pretext that enough of them can unite upon to make it respectable. Once started, the Solid South will go as Ku-kluxism did before, as is so admirably told by Judge Tourgee in his "Fool's Errand." When the break comes those who start it will be astonished to find how many of their friends have been in favor of it for a long time, and have only been waiting to see some one take the lead. This desirable solution can only be attained by the defeat and continued defeat of the Democratic party as now constituted.

[Speech in New York, November 20, 1880.]

Now, in regard to the future of myself, which has been alluded to here, I am entirely satisfied as I am to-day. I am not one of those who cry out against the republic, and charge it with being ungrateful. I am sure that, as regards the American people, as a nation and as individuals, I have

every reason under the sun, if any person really has, to be satisfied with their treatment of me.

[Speech in New York, December 1, 1880.]

The government owes much to the service of its volunteer soldiers. Too much credit cannot be paid them. The very fact that the country can raise so great and good an army, in such an emergency as our late civil war, is a proof that we have institutions in which all the people have an equal part; that we have a government, not for the privileged class, but for the people and by the people. When the peaceful citizen changes to the soldier, he does so readily, feeling that he is fighting for himself when he is fighting for his government. I hope and feel that the country will not again have to call upon such numbers of its citizens for support. I am confident that we will not have another civil war, but should the menaces of a foreign foe cause a call to arms, we will find the same support and readiness in organizing an army as in 1861.

LB O '19